

20c • SEPTEMBER 27, 1954

Can Knowland Knock Out Nixon?

New Republic

WEATHER REPORTS FROM MAINE

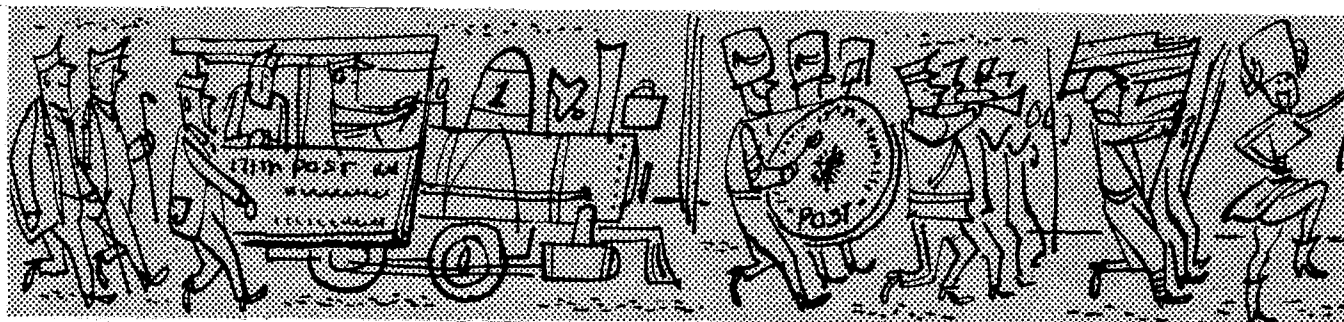
Louis Bean

Gerald W. Johnson

Elizabeth Donahue

Kennan's Reappraisal Michael Straight

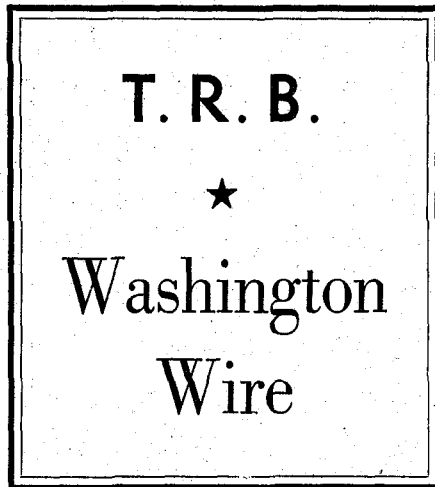
The Dos Passos 'Debacle' . . . Granville Hicks



Brass and Wood Winds—in Four Parts

The Legion Convention as Seen by Walter Goodman

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We earnestly try to understand and support Dulles' foreign policy. Despite partisanship he is our foreign minister, and times are dangerous. But we ask in all bewilderment why Dulles encourages the weaker Chiang to goad the Communists, who are bound to retaliate. Does it do us good? Is it wise, is it safe? Britain wants to neutralize Formosa as Truman left it before Dulles—Ike "unleashed" it. Do we really want a big war there? If so, then of course our present course is rational.

For the life of us we can't understand the inscrutable Secretary. His quick trip to Bonn and London last week omitted Paris and seemed like a special snub. Presumably he went to Bonn to find out for himself how seriously Adenauer was damaged politically by French rejection of EDC. He found Adenauer probably surviving, but at a higher cost. Germany must have equality right away. That Dulles' snub to France was deliberate seems evident. France has been terribly exasperating. It is also true that the Continent can hardly be held without Germany. But, on the other hand, it certainly can't be held without France. If Dulles' purpose is somehow to improve matters by exasperating France, we hope he knows what he is doing. If the crisis has reached that point things are grim indeed. It is difficult for us to dismiss the notion of a personal reaction by Dulles. He feels people keep letting him down: it was Anthony Eden on an earlier "quickie" trip to Europe when Dulles tried to shore up Indo-China; now it is Mendès-France.

There is a final aspect. America is swinging her weight around, using the big stick. Congressmen like that sort of thing. The State Department is sup-

posed to be more popular with Senators now than in Dean Acheson's old-fashioned day. Throw out your chest and be proud (as Nixon put it) that at last we have a Secretary "who isn't taken in by the Communists." Under the GOP the State Department is using shock treatment: Dulles' diplomatic electrotherapy.

Elections are lots of fun, particularly if your side seems to be winning. It now looks as though the Big Business Republicans, using Ike as their front, were heading for a bad licking. We often wonder how liberal Congress would be if it represented the real feelings of America. Probably at least as liberal as Canada. But in the United States there are three big hurdles to overcome: first, the one-party conservative press; then the conscious overrepresentation of farms against the cities (with possible average loss of 10 to 20 "liberals" from Congress); and finally the awarding of chairmanships in Congress by seniority and similar devices weighted in favor of one-party conservative states. These are normal handicaps through which any popular American upsurge must break.

A Democratic victory this fall sounds good, but unless it is really massive the conservative North-South coalition that has run things since well before Truman retired will continue in control. The "Outs" have replaced the "Ins" a good many times before in Washington without much change in legislation. Nevertheless a GOP defeat now would be a popular repudiation of the Nixon, Dixon and Yates type of philosophy that smiling Ike brought into Washington.

We often ponder over Ike. The people elected him two years ago; they didn't elect the Republicans. His continued popularity is phenomenal. His sermonettes, his ivory-tower capacity, his genuinely attractive qualities make him still the Republicans' main asset. We rather think a new chapter will open after the election if it goes badly for the GOP. Curiously enough, the people who dislike Ike most now are not Democrats but the Old-Guard wing of his own party. They would blame defeat on Ike, they would make him the sacri-

fice; some of them can't wait. Conservative Taft leaders have never forgiven Ike: The *Chicago Tribune*—or clinical—wing of the party wants the New Deal repealed *in toto*, not mildly curtailed. In the curious New Jersey Senatorial campaign the GOP Old Guard is now trying to knife Republican liberal Clifford P. Case. It is an example of the real Republican forces behind the Eisenhower "front." Have no doubt of it, Ike's opposition to the Bricker Amendment has not been forgiven by the Old Guard in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. And here in Washington Joe McCarthy sits waiting for the glad news of a GOP defeat—then he can blame Ike.

After the GOP Cincinnati rally Rep. Richard Simpson (R, Pa.) declared that Ike would make "the most active off-year campaign that any President has made in 30 years." Ike risks that beautiful popularity of his in such a battle.

Last week brought the Treasury's sad announcement lifting its deficit estimate upward to \$4.6 billion—an increase of \$1.7 billion for the fiscal year ending next July 1. There is no better indication that something's wrong with the economy. If there were real prosperity, as the GOP claims, taxes on corporate profits and personal incomes would balance the budget in spite of recent cuts. The terrifying thing is that the Humphrey budget-balancing school is still slashing at defense expenditures: another \$3 billion is coming off.

There are indications that one Administration group now favors pump-priming to end unemployment while the Treasury group still demands retrenchment. The easiest targets in such a struggle are foreign and defense items.



Notes: TRB thanks all his readers (including reliable Upton Sinclair) who told him it was Anatole France NOT Voltaire who wrote the epigram praising the impartiality of the law for banning both rich and poor from sleeping under bridges . . . Lanny Budd wouldn't have made a slip like that . . . McCarthy now announces he will make only one political speech, in Illinois, September 26. . . . That seems to make the Meek-Douglas Senatorial contest in Illinois the only test of waning McCarthy influence.

Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Choice in Viet-Nam

OUR JOB in that part of Viet-Nam which was saved at Geneva is plain: by the time (2 years) the Viet-Nameese must choose in general elections between a Communist and a Democratic government, an overwhelming majority of them must be convinced that the Red leader Ho Chi Minh does not, as they now believe, represent their only chance to end the political suppression and the economic exploitation of colonialism. That job would be hard enough if it involved only bringing about in so short a time a measurable improvement in the living standard of the free Viet-Nameese with more than 250,000 refugees already down from the North, and more coming. But how the free Viet-Nameese vote in July, 1956, will depend quite a lot on whether their government during the trial years has inspired confidence or contempt. And here the legacy of colonialism threatens to load the dice.

The legal government of free Viet-Nam under Premier Ngo Dinh Diem has been challenged by the Army Chief of Staff, General Nguyen Van Hinh, in a way as mocking of the democratic system as the worst farce ever to come out of South America. The French-appointed Emperor Bao Dai—who earned the contempt of his people by ruling from Monte Carlo and seeing to it that his favorites made fortunes out of the bitter Indo-China War—still rules in Viet-Nam. And it was hoped that the naming of the honest, nationalistic Dinh Diem as Premier would counteract the stigma blemishing the crown and win back the loyalty of the free Viet-Nameese. Colonialist regimes, however, maintain themselves by pitting local strongmen and power-groups against one another, and in Viet-Nam the French built up a particularly complex structure of vying interests among local groups. So when Dinh Diem took office, he found the army commanded by a French-trained general who was frank in his sympathy for French colonial power, and the capital city of Saigon as

well as the entire police system of South Viet-Nam controlled by the private army of a group called Bing Xuyen (led by Bao Dai's good friend, Gen. LeVan Vien). Two religious sects; the Hoa Hao and the Cao Dai also maintain armed forces. The Premier finding himself in a power struggle with the Army Chief of Staff, who began negotiating with the leaders of the various private armies, ordered him to resign and go to France. General Hinh refused, began gathering troops and wrote to Bao Dai—in France—for support.

Whatever the outcome, the prestige of the government has been hurt, and badly. But the outcome—whether legal government or the remnants of a cast-off colonial regime triumph—will largely determine what kind of government the free Viet-Nameese will know during the coming two years—the political context of an election which in turn will influence all Southeast Asia.

September Song

THE ADMINISTRATION hoped that nobody would notice, but its own September budget estimates finally admitted the fact of a business recession, slump, call it what you will, that officials clearly do not expect to have cured itself by next June.

Most of the newspapers handled the budget story by playing up the fact that between January and September, the President's estimated deficit for fiscal 1955 jumped from \$2.9 billion to \$4.7 billion. There was a fascinating direct quotation from Mr. Eisenhower, who said to Budget Director Hughes, "Well, you have got to tell the story the way it is." But the more significant "story" involved an entirely different set of figures—the difference between the President's January optimistic "guess" at total revenues and the September "real thing" estimate after a little experience is behind us.

In January the President estimated total revenues at \$62.7 billion, but in September the estimate had dropped to \$59.3 billion—a reduction in estimated receipts of \$3.4 billion. We can account for \$1.2 billion of this decline because Congress insisted on cutting excise taxes by this amount. But how about the remaining \$2.2 billion decline in government revenue? It represents one thing only—lower tax receipts from corporations, farmers and workers because of the lower level of business activity.

Even the September estimates presumably were viewed through rose-tinted glasses, in anticipation of the ballyhooed "autumn revival." (Last February it was to be a Spring revival.) What if the "revival" fails to arrive? What if steel still operates at a low rate, farm income continues to drop, there are still layoffs at farm machinery and automobile factories? Then the January estimates will have to show another slip in revenues to add to the \$2.2 billion that officially acknowledged, for the first time, a recession already so serious in its effects that not even the Treasury dared claim that any "revival" would overcome them by next June 30.



A fellow can't remember to take everything.

High Tension

ON THE MATTER of investigating serious charges of irregularities (NR, Sept. 13) in the way Dixon-Yates was chosen to build a power-plant for the Memphis, Tenn., TVA area, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy has manifested a shyness not common to Congressional Committees. When Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell first spoke of a "Dixon-Yates scandal," the Republican Chairman of that committee, Rep. W. Sterling Cole of New York, dared him to appear and testify in support of the charge. Mitchell agreed and hearings were scheduled; but then they were mysteriously postponed.

Gradually it became known that the TVA had refused to go along with the contract negotiated by the Atomic Energy Committee because it had been shown only selected sections of the contract and its corrections of statistical errors in those sections were ignored. The vacant post of TVA Chairman was quickly filled and a meeting arranged between the new man, Brigadier General Herbert D. Vogel, and Major General K. D. Nichols, general-manager of the Atomic Energy Commission. Both promptly proclaimed a "meeting of minds on all fundamental issues." Nothing left to further delay hearings, one would suppose. Surely not the "November elections. But—no hearings. And now a New York group which bid against Dixon-Yates and lost has sent Cole a

72-page analysis of Bureau of the Budget and AEC records purporting to prove that the Bureau of the Budget used "deliberately inaccurate and misleading" figures to justify giving Dixon-Yates the contract. Leader of the group, Walter Von Tresckow, has requested permission to testify before the committee "so that we may establish public proof of our charges."

Under the present contract, the government guarantees to buy Dixon-Yates power for 25 years at a price which will cover all expenses—including federal, state and local taxes—and provide a handsome profit besides; a total cost to the US of \$140 million more than if TVA had been allowed to build. At the end of 25 years, Dixon-Yates owns the plant.

The Von Tresckow group offered to build and run the plant for 35 years for a \$4 million fee, then give it back to the government. Over the life of the contract, says Von Tresckow, the US would save \$150 million.

President Eisenhower based his decision to overrule the majority of Atomic Energy Commissioners, who along with TVA opposed the Dixon-Yates proposal, on a report from his Bureau of the Budget. In the analysis sent Cole, Von Tresckow charges specifically that the Bureau of the Budget report contains nine major errors resulting in a total of 98 errors in the cumulative statistics, and that all 98 errors favor

Dixon-Yates. "Eliminating the 98 errors," says Von Tresckow, we find that it will cost the government \$5,151,000 less to do business with us." The cost of power to the ultimate consumer, he adds, would be lowered 23 percent.

The nine errors charged are that the Bureau of the Budget arbitrarily:

1. Added \$800,000 to Von Tresckow's low estimate and \$1,800,000 to his high estimate by changing the requirement from 600,000 kilowatts of capacity to 600,000 kilowatts of firm power.
2. Increased his fuel cost estimates by \$75,000 without explanation.
3. Added another \$627,000 for "transmission charges" to his high and low estimates although his plant would be at Fulton, Tenn. (The Dixon-Yates plant will be built on the wrong side of the river, requiring transmission lines across the Mississippi.)
4. Subtracted \$820,000 of federal taxes from the Dixon-Yates estimate but not from Von Tresckow's.
5. Made a plain old mathematical error, deducting \$307,000 from Dixon-Yates' estimate and adding \$553,000 to Von Tresckow's.
6. Revised capital costs estimates so as to raise Von Tresckow's by \$1,631,000 while adding only \$285,000 to that of Dixon-Yates.

Errors 7, 8 and 9 are charged to Dixon-Yates, not the Bureau.

There is only one way to find out if these charges will hold up: public hearings. But the Republican leadership seems determined not to have them. They have even denied Republican Sen. William Langer of North Dakota, Chairman of the Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee, the funds he requested to investigate the monopoly features of this contract. The 68-year-old Langer, however, has announced that he will pay for the investigation out of his own pocket, and has taken on three private law cases to raise the money.

In the meantime, Democrats are pressing their charges that the "Dixon-Yates scandal" reveals Eisenhower's incapacity to protect the public interest and that under his administration, special pleaders have for the first time been publicly accused of penetrating as far as a branch of the Office of the President—Bureau of the Budget.

New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION

VOLUME 131, NUMBER 13, ISSUE 2079

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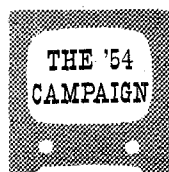
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Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1954 in the USA by New Republic, Inc., publishing office, 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D.C. Editorial and business communications should be addressed to 1826 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950 at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, \$7.00; Foreign, \$8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, \$5.00.

The Primaries End: Democrats Close Ranks

Wisconsin:



WISCONSIN'S primary results indicate two things: (1) That a strong Democratic tide is running in the state, leading many Democratic leaders to believe that they will elect a Governor for the first time since 1932. (2) That McCarthy's prestige in his home bailiwick has hit a new low.

If the first conclusion is valid, the new Governor is going to be William Proxmire, 38, the party's candidate in the 1952 race, a former newspaper reporter and now the president of a very successful printing business. Proxmire was nominated with a smashing margin over James E. Doyle, national co-chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action and twice chairman of the state Democratic organization. Doyle was making his first bid for elective office.

Democrats are enormously encouraged by the large increase in their share of the primary vote. Not since 1912 have they polled so heavily. The last comparable year was 1934 when, in the first rosy days of the New Deal, they hit 39.5 percent of the vote cast. Tuesday's returns showed the Democrats polling better than 40 percent. They outran the Republicans in the two most populous counties in the state, Milwaukee and Dane. In Milwaukee County, 60 percent of the voters chose the Democratic ballot, the first time a majority has done so since 1934. In some of the Milwaukee precincts where a solid Republican primary vote has become traditional the vote went Democratic by three and four to one.

The increase reflected itself on the Congressional district level as well as for statewide offices. In the 2nd District, for example, which has been Republican for 10 years, the Democratic candidate, State Sen. Gaylord Nelson, came close to an even split of the vote. The incumbent, Rep. Glenn Davis, had 80 percent of the vote in the 1952 and 67 percent in the 1950 primary.

Republicans, whistling in the dark about this development, claim that the Democrats hit their maximum strength in the primary. The fact is that there is a consistent pattern in the past of the

Democratic vote increasing by 300 and 400 percent between the primary and the general election. In 1948 it was 110,000 in the primary and 558,000 in the general. In 1950 the Democratic vote jumped from 136,000 to 525,000 and in 1952 from 178,000 to 601,000. Except in the landslide of 1952 the corresponding Republican increase has been less than 100 percent. If this pattern holds, the Democrats will carry the state for the first time in more than 20 years.

The low ebb of McCarthy's prestige was evident in the outcome of two primary contests, one statewide and one for county office. Despite a heavily financed effort to purge Secretary of State Fred R. Zimmerman, the veteran Republican easily won renomination over Joyce Larkin, former newspaper publisher, who had the support of the party organization. The organization has been trying hard to rid itself of Zimmerman because of his outspoken and bitter hostility to McCarthy. His association with the "Joe-Must-Go" movement last Spring brought this opposition to a frenzied pitch. Lustily booed at party gatherings, in the elections Zimmerman has continued to demonstrate that he is the party's best vote getter.

Of equal significance was the thundering vote of repudiation cast in Sauk County against the McCarthyite District Attorney, Harlan Kelley, who became a national figure because of the way he abused the power of his office to harass and persecute the officials of the Joe-Must-Go movement, who have made their headquarters in Sauk City, the home of the founder, Leroy Gore. By a vote of more than three to one, Kelley was defeated by James Seering, a 27-year-old attorney who had never before sought public office.

Kelley, who is known locally as a "watch fob McCarthy," has continued to use his power as a public prosecutor to smear the officials of the recall movement launched against McCarthy last Spring. Although the local county judge threw a corrupt practices case out of court because the statute did not apply to a recall proceeding, Kelley has continued to press charges in a vain attempt to force Gore to turn over the names of the petition signers and contributors.

Kelley has insisted that he will prove from them that the Communists were behind the recall effort.

Although Seering is disclaiming it because of his apprehensions that Kelley may run against him in the general election as an independent, there was little question that McCarthy was the central issue in the campaign. Considering that Sauk County is a stronghold of right-wing Republicanism, the vote against Kelley is little less than astounding.

Madison

MILES MCMILLIN

Colorado:

COLORADO'S Democrats now are energetically seeking to close ranks after a primary campaign which split the party—including its liberals—down the middle. In the September 14 election former Rep. John A. Carroll, defeated Quigg Newton, Denver Mayor, by a 5 to 3 majority. Newton failed to carry his own city and led Carroll in only a handful of small counties.

No other party offices were fiercely fought for. "Big Ed" Johnson, retiring from the Senate this year, had no opposition in the primary, and Colorado's two liberal Democratic Congressmen—Byron Rogers of Denver and Wayne Aspinall of the Western slope of the Rockies—were also unopposed.



Carroll

The x-factor in the coming campaign will be Ed Johnson. One of the big vote-getters of Colorado political history, Johnson is expected to attain the Governorship without difficulty. But his attitude toward Carroll may tell heavily in the Senate race. Carroll's defeat by Republican Eugene Millikin in the Senatorial contest of 1950 was widely ascribed to Johnson's tacit opposition. This year Newton claimed adherence to the "Johnson wing of the party." Johnson had publicly praised Newton's record as nonpartisan mayor of Denver, and his statement on the primary outcome did not mention Carroll by name. But the decisiveness of Carroll's victory in the primary may well induce Johnson's positive support, and the other national figures among Colorado Democrats—Truman Cabinet

members, Charles Brannan and Oscar Chapman—will work hard for Carroll.

The primary campaign for the Senatorial nomination was fairly quiet and confined to the issues, on which the candidates did not appear to diverge widely, until organized labor intervened for the first time in Colorado primaries by endorsing Carroll. Stung by this repudiation of what he considered his excellent labor record as Mayor of Denver, Newton attacked Carroll as a "captive" of the unions and declared that AFL building trades were avenging his action in revising Denver's antiquated building code.

Newton also attacked Carroll's record of 100 percent voting with the majority of House Democrats during his two terms as Congressman, calling Carroll a "rubber stamp" representative.

Effect of the union endorsement on the labor vote is problematical. Pueblo, the steel town where CIO has its greatest strength, gave Newton a far greater share of its Democratic votes than did the state as a whole.

The regular Democratic organization supported Carroll. Many old-line party members resented the fact that Newton had never affiliated with the party until a year ago, just in time to run for office. Also resented was the personal support of Newton by Eisenhower Republicans who, it was charged, changed party affiliation in order to vote for Newton in the primary.

Veteran political observers, however, surprised at the size of the Newton vote after his brief year as a Democrat, are inclined to think he may go after Senator Millikin's seat in 1956. Ed Johnson's post-primary statement praised Newton as "a very able young man destined to go places in the Democratic Party."

In November, Carroll will face Gordon Allott of southeastern Colorado, who has been an able lieutenant-governor. Allott worked hard for Stassen in 1952, has never been popular with the right wing of the GOP, who tried up to the last minute to draft Gov. Dan Thornton to the Senate race. However, Allott's success in obtaining endorsement at the state convention seems to indicate party unity in the general election.

Allott, not a spectacular campaigner but a hard worker, will be no pushover.

Demands for Captive Peoples

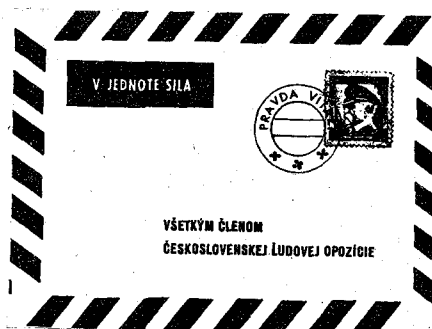
DAYBREAK, April 29, 1954: in the towns and villages of Western Czechoslovakia people ran from their houses to stare upwards; across the sky hundreds of balloons drifted in from Bavaria, burst, and showered leaflets over farms, roads, fields and cities.

On the next morning, and every day as the winds permitted, the balloons came again. Within a fortnight 20 million leaflets had been dropped.

Communist authorities were angry: the leaflets, Radio Prague announced, were not to be read. But everybody was reading them. And the mayor of one town displayed one on the official bulletin board as a sample of what should not be read.

A few hours after the first balloons crossed the frontier, Radio Free Europe's powerful transmitters in Munich began broadcasting announcements in Czech and Slovak, underscoring the message the leaflets bore. Now the campaign is in its fourth month, and will continue. It is the first attempt in the history of postwar "psychological warfare" against Communism to promote concrete and feasible action behind the Iron Curtain. The leaflets and radio messages call upon workers, farmers, retail store managers, craftsmen and even the small local Czech bureaucrats to demand improvement of their working and living conditions. Rather than prescribing definite ways of agitating, the Free Europe Committee simply tells them to pick their own most suitable time, place and method.

During months of research, in interviews with Czechoslovak refugees and on the basis of information read between the lines of the Communist press, the Free Europe Committee brought together in 10 "Demands" the most acute grievances of the Czech working class. Each demand attempts to increase and sharpen already existing pressures: the kinds of pressures which won recognition last year when the satellite regimes were forced to promise major concessions and to initiate shifts in industrial production plans. The demands, for example, call on workers and foremen to slow down production not serving the people's needs, and to speed up the production of household wares, textiles, furniture and other consumer goods. It is a pattern for "liberation" from the bottom



AT THE END of May, several million "Masaryk letters" were ballooned into Czechoslovakia. . . . The envelope, reproduced here, was the same size and color as a normal airmail envelope. On it is printed a Masaryk stamp common under the democratic Republic, and the stamp is postmarked with Masaryk's motto: "Truth Prevails." The envelope is further marked "In Unity—Strength," and addressed "To All Members of the People's Opposition." . . . the letter inside tells the mission of the People's Opposition: "To be aware of and to spread the consciousness of the People's solidarity. To choose—according to your own possibilities, the areas in which you can oppose with greatest success. To select the Demand which you can best propagate. To assist your fellow citizens, to rely on them, to trust that there is truth, strength and victory in the People."

up, a far cry from the mirage of liberation from the outside which flashed like a neon advertisement in the 1952 US election campaign and which has haunted the Administration since that time.

We are not likely to hear such glowing statements again during the coming campaign. In two years Secretary Dulles has come to deny what Mr. Dulles once affirmed—that without a shot being fired some magic incantation can unravel the knot that binds the captive people to the Communist orbit.

Wild hopes were stirred up behind the Iron Curtain by the wild talk of generals and politicians who proclaimed that a showdown was imminent and that victory would follow hard after. They died in the awful gap between tough

talk and soft action. Yet, the Free Europe experiment shows that there is another wide margin between full-fledged liberation and a policy of total inaction in the face of Communist terror and oppression, in which, in a limited way, much can be done. Once we abandon sentiment and despair, and bring the 200 million people behind the Iron Curtain into true focus, we see them, not as some amorphous mass, passively suffering till the day when the West shall come and set them free, but as human beings with everyday cares and everyday grievances, disoriented at times by an unrealistic faith in some decisive form of help from the outside, yet burning to act in their own name. In a flash from the darkness, the revolts in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia last year showed that amorphous mass, the "people behind the Iron Curtain," as angry, courageous individuals ready to accept punishment and to risk death for realizable and immediate demands. There is a lesson here for the Western diplomats who in the past have met with the Communists, demanded the abolition of dictatorship, then, when refused, shrugged their shoulders and gone home.

China Lobbies—Plural

THE ROLLING staccato of gunfire from the China Coast and Quemoy has signaled certain groups in the US that the time has come for a barrage of their own—aimed at American public and Congressional opinion. Both Communist and Nationalist Chinese propagandists will be busy here during the coming weeks and they will be working in a context of heightened interest in America's China policy.

According to Justice Department records, there are eight organizations and three individuals registered here as agents for Chinese principals under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. Two groups and one individual work for Red China, the others for the Nationalists.

Red China is represented by:

The Four Continent Book Corporation which works out of New York City and distributes newspapers, books, magazines, pamphlets, posters, photos, maps.

Imported Publications and Products, which sends out *People's China*, a fortnightly; *Chinese Pictorial*, a monthly

In the Senate—63 B.C.

ON A MORNING in November, 63 B.C., Cicero summoned the Senators to the temple of Jupiter Stator, at the end of the Sacred Street, to consider charges against Catiline. Catiline, with those of his party, entered the hall boldly, as if intending to make a strong defense. Then, to his surprise, none of the Senators would sit near him; all left the bench where he had placed himself. He was alone, finally brought to account by his peers.

Cicero spoke:

"Quo usque tandem. . ."

"When, O Catiline, do you mean to cease abusing our patience? How long is that madness of yours still to mock us? When is there to be an end of that unbridled audacity of yours. . . . Do you not see that you are even now fully known and detected by all who are here assembled?"

"O tempora, o mores!"

"Oh the times, oh the customs! The Senate is aware of the facts . . . and yet this man lives! Aye, he even comes into the Senate. He still takes

part in the public deliberations. . . .

"And we—such is our bravery—think we are doing our duty to our country if we merely keep ourselves out of the way of his reckless words and violent deeds. . . . There was once such virtue in this republic that brave men would repress mischievous citizens with severer chastisement than the most bitter enemy. . . .

"We have a resolution of the Senate, a formidable and authoritative decree against you, O Catiline; the wisdom of the republic is not at fault, nor the dignity of this Senatorial body. We, we alone—I say it openly—we, the consuls, are wanting in our duty. . . .

"You will perish in the end; but not till it is certain there will be no one in Rome so shameless, so desperate, so exactly the counterpart of yourself, as not to admit the justice of your sentence. Just so long as there is a single man who dares to defend you, you will live: but you will live as you live now, held at bay. . . ."

—Cicero's First Catiline Oration

magazine; *China Reconstructs*, a bi-monthly; and *Chinese Literature*, a quarterly.

Edwin S. Smith, head of a New York City photo agency, who offers for sale to magazines, newspapers and photo agencies pictures obtained from Peking.

These Red agents and agencies obviously will be working at a disadvantage.

The Nationalists, who have friends in high places and a better chance of convincing, are represented by:

The Kuomintang, the political party headed by Chiang Kai-shek—with US headquarters in California; this group works "to secure and maintain the interest of Chinese residents in the US, and to aid and further the aims of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang"; it has branches in Portland, Oregon, New York City, Chicago and San Antonio, Texas.

The Chinese News Agency and the Chinese News Service, official news-gathering and information agencies for the Nationalist regime; the Agency collects and transmits news from the US to its head office at Formosa; the Service maintains a library and speakers' bureau and issues publications dealing

with the activities of "Free China."

Carson Chang of Washington, D. C., an agent for China's Fighting League for Free Democracy, an underground movement with headquarters "somewhere in Asia"; his major activities include delivering lectures, sending articles to anti-Communist Chinese outside the mainland, and giving information about the Communists to the US Government.

Harry C. Lamberton, a Washington lawyer who has represented the Board of Trustees for Rehabilitation Affairs, a Nationalist agency.

The Committee on Planning and Advising for Chinese Students in the US, organized to help provide scholarships for Chinese students in America.

Commerce International China, Inc., which, according to its statement, buys and sells heavy equipment and machinery for the Board of Supplies of the Republic of China on Formosa.

Universal Trading Corporation, another commercial group, tries to promote trade between China and the US.

The trade groups tend to deny that they engage in any political activity, but their profits depend entirely on Nationalist China's future.

Paris Dispatch

Is Mendes-France the Enemy?

Whether West German rearmament is really just around the corner remains to be decided at the London conference and at the NATO ministerial council meeting which is to follow it next month. But a dangerous psychological crisis resulting from the French rejection of EDC—the widening of splits between the Western European nations, between and also within France and Germany, and in the Atlantic alliance itself—has been faced and brought somewhat close to at least a temporary solution, thanks in large part to Anthony Eden.

The crisis was of confidence. Since Little Europe seemed to have died with EDC, there had to be some hope that a larger Europe—one in which Britain could and would play "a full part"—could live. The basic purpose of Eden's tour of the capitals of Little Europe was to present and get acceptance in principle for a formula to salvage Western European unity and also to move ahead quickly with a military substitute for EDC.

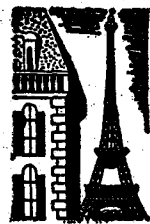
Naturally Paris was the last stop. For the French are least confident—in themselves as well as in West Germany. The communique issued at the end of several long conversations between Eden and Pierre Mendès-France mentioned loyalty to the Atlantic community, faith in European unity, Britain's full part, the association of West Germany with the free world, and co-operation between France and West Germany. It said not a word about West German sovereignty or rearmament.

Nevertheless, there was enough agreement in principle to justify trying to work out the practical details at a conference in London. To this extent, France was saved from isolationism; and that too was one of the purposes of Eden's trip.

Missions of salvation have played a large part in the intensely active Western European diplomacy of the last few weeks. There is no doubt that one of the reasons for the quick trip of Secretary Dulles to Bonn was to save Konrad Adenauer—to boost his prestige from the low point to which it had slipped

with the result of the Schleswig-Holstein election. But if Sir Winston Churchill agrees with Dulles that the top priority is to keep Bonn facing West, he refuses to conceive of losing France. So his Foreign Secretary's quest for a formula of compromise was also an effort to save Mendès-France. It was to prevent him from being smashed between the hammer of the German-American insistence on Bonn's immediate entrance into NATO, and the anvil of demands in the French National Assembly for political and military guarantees.

When Dulles arrived at Bonn, Adenauer said: "I think that the best Europeans come from America." The Secretary said that the Chancellor's views "must now command great respect" and that final decisions would be reached after further exchanges of views "between all who are genuinely concerned with the peace, security and freedom of Europe." It is quite possible that he did not have time to visit Paris because of doubts about the genuineness of Mendès-France's concern. On the other hand, the French Premier welcomed Eden as an excellent European; and the Foreign Secretary found once again in his host a man who, in his opinion, is the most able head of a French government in many years.



The value of the London conference, if it takes place and if Dulles agrees to attend, is that it may bypass the duel which Adenauer has been waging against Mendès-France. If a two-way dialogue remains impossible, a four-way talk including Eden and Dulles may accomplish a similar purpose; or perhaps the Englishman and the American may act as benevolent surrogates for the Frenchman and the German.

It is all very well for James Reston to advise the French, in the columns of the *New York Times*, to give up their impression or their fear that the Americans are now more pro-German than pro-French. How can anyone possibly believe, at any rate, that Washington is not anti-Mendès-France as well as pro-Adenauer? It is an open secret, more-

over, that Adenauer's views (which Dulles hastened across the Atlantic to learn) include the conviction that no long-range solution in Western Europe is possible until Mendès-France is disposed of. Devotees and zealots of the Vatican's Christian Europe agree. There is a relevant comment made by Thomas Dehler of the West German Free Democrats: "Mendès-France," he says, "is a black sheep only to those who see him through black glasses"—black being the color of the clericals.

So the French look forward to the London conference to find equalizing formulas between them and the Germans, before Bonn is admitted to NATO. They want assurances that Washington and London will not give priority to Germany in the amount and quality and type of weapons furnished. They believe that West Germany as well as France and the other Western European countries should all agree to an upper limit for their military contingents in proportion to the total forces recommended by the NATO council. They want London to agree to keep at least her present forces on the continent as long as the NATO council considers their presence necessary.

All these matters are far outside the fanatical immovabilities of European faith and dogma. With good will, and even a bare minimum of mutual confidence, solutions of the practical problems can be found. But a personal, a human problem remains—that is the relation between Adenauer and Mendès-France. It is too much to expect that Adenauer, at his age, with his stubborn prejudices, can yield much. Yet, if the Frenchman is, first, to accept a compromise solution at London and, then, fight for it in the French National Assembly, he cannot do it well so long as he personally is treated as second-best. The men at the Pentagon know, even if Dulles forgets, that the lines of communication and supply to West Germany lie through France. Perhaps they can remind him, therefore, that if he *genuinely* is concerned with the Western European military defense pattern, he had better mend his manners.

Paris

FRANK GORRELL

Weather Reports from Maine

ONE OF the few "outsiders" who sensed impending disaster for the Republicans in Maine was Vice-President Nixon, who strayed into the state for a brief golfing vacation with the confident greeting that "Maine is one state that is safe." He was belted by twin blasts from Hurricane Carol and the desperate Republicans.

Hastily reversing his public declaration that he would stay out of the Maine campaign, the Vice-President yoked all the top brass of the GOP into a state-wide TV-radio production monopolizing all outlets. It was a slick show, with all the props and trappings which the ad men usually reserve for nationwide GOP productions. It was also the first and last time that the Republicans presented any semblance of a



Gov. and Mrs. Muskie

united front. It was the last time US Senator Payne appeared with Gov. Burton Cross whose name never publicly passed Payne's lips through election day.

The Nixon show was built entirely around the theme of a "victory for Ike" who from then on was made the central figure in the Maine campaign by Nixon, Sen. Margaret Chase Smith and all her fellow-candidates. Even Governor Cross, whose unpopularity was already becoming painfully obvious was warmly embraced by Nixon as "a member of our national team." The first-term Governor had been virtually exiled from the potato county of Aroostook by local GOP officials. He had told Washington County "to pull itself up by its own bootstraps" when it appealed for aid following a bad herring run. The Governor was facing a storm of criticism on policies covering lobsters, potatoes, state roads, aid for the Port of Portland and patronage. But he casually ignored rising unemployment and the alarming rate of migration. Taking his cue from Nixon, Cross stuck to the "Ike needs Maine" theme, adding the threat that his defeat would mean the "return of OPS, WPA, the New Deal and the Fair Deal."

Edmund Muskie, the Democratic winner for the Governorship, had declared as a New Deal-Fair Deal Democrat. Leading with his big lantern jaw, he plunged his six-foot-four frame into a three-month whirlwind tour, criss-crossing the state with Paul Fullam, the handsome and articulate college professor opposing Senator Smith, at his side. Muskie pommelled the Governor on state issues while Fullam hammered at the flaws in the "peace and prosperity" portrait of the Eisenhower Administra-

tion and the record of "Maine's people in Washington"—especially Mrs. Smith.

The two men and the three Democratic Congressional candidates rounded out a ticket assembled scarcely six months ago under the aegis of a newly-elected State Party Chairman, Frank Coffin. Coffin, an able young Portland lawyer, held a close rein on the five most capable and aggressive top office seekers Maine Democrats have named in modern times.

Coffin spent the Democrats' slim purse of about \$16,000 (75 percent "Maine money") largely on TV and radio. The new TV medium, first used in a Maine campaign this year, finally gave the Democrats a partial answer to the problem of communication in this state where political news is usually dispensed by a tightly-controlled one-party press.

The Maine election is now a battle of statistics. Like Edna, the second hurricane that swept the state 24

LOUIS H. BEAN—"As Maine Goes . . ."

There are many ways of proving and disproving this generalization. The best proof and the formula most useful for this year's mid-term analysis you are likely to find in the comparison between:

1. The Republican percent of the vote in the Maine Congressional elections in September, and
2. The number of Republican Representatives elected in all states to the Congress in November.

Sixty percent Republican in Maine is the break-even point where Republicans either barely retain control or barely lose it. Here is the complete formula based on the most recent experience, in 1946 and 1950 mid-term elections. An extension of that experience for 1954, when the Republicans in Maine cast only 54 percent of the total Congressional vote, suggests that the Republicans will lose about 50 of their 222 seats in November. Since 218 seats are required to take control, the Democrats should, according to this formula take over the House of Representatives with a handsome margin.

<i>Republican Percent of Congressional Vote in Maine in September</i>	<i>Number of Republican Representatives elected to Congress in November</i>
62.5	240
60.0	219
57.5	198
55.0	177
54.4 (1954)	172

Louis H. Bean is the author of "How to Predict Elections."

hours earlier, the election is being widely described as "eyeless"—having no discernible center of turmoil. But the fact is that President Eisenhower had been planted firmly at the storm center by his staunch supporters from the Vice-President down. (Watching the campaign closely from inside, it was not apparent that the name "Eisenhower" held any magic in Maine.) The GOP linking of the outcome so closely to Ike provoked a direct and merciless Democratic counter-attack on the national Administration as the issue. And "peace and prosperity" had little appeal in an area faced with a shrinking economy and serious and growing unemployment—especially in textile and shipbuilding. Maine, moreover, is a strong internationalist state where the settlement in Korea has not obscured the need for a decisive military and foreign policy.

In 1948, Senator Smith warned the national Republican leadership that despite her record-breaking first term Senate vote, the reduced percentages in the other Maine Congressional races were a bad omen for the GOP in the future. This year, Senator Smith's own percentage

of the total vote (and Maine topped its 1952 national turnout with a total of about 249,000 ballots) was reduced by more than 13 percent. Her 1948 margin of 95,000 was cut more than 50 percent. There was an across-the-board drop this year of about 12 percent in the GOP totals of all Maine's Congressional candidates. Rep. Robert Hale, in the populous first District including Portland, barely eked out a seventh term by 4,000 votes and by the smallest percentage of the vote in any of his previous elections. He had fought almost exclusively on the national battle line, hammering on the theme that a setback in Maine would open the way for "the left-wingers in the Democratic Party" to take over Washington.

The people of Maine, confronted with a clear choice between Eisenhower Republicanism and a New Deal-Fair Deal alternative, appear to have taken a second and more appreciative look at the Roosevelt-Truman years and partially conquered their fears of the Twentieth Century.

Portland, Maine

ELIZABETH DONAHUE

Gerald W. Johnson: *The State of Maine*



A SUPERFICIAL observer whose brain is just not high-g geared enough to keep pace with this spinning age is agog, not to say aghast when in the same early September he sees truck-drivers dressed in organdy and tulle and Maine electing a Democratic Governor—

can such things be,
And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
Without our special wonder?

Feminine authority assures us, of course, that those misty shirts the truck-drivers wear are not really organdy and tulle but a very sheer nylon, specially woven for hot weather on a hot job; and in sober truth I doubt that Maine has really gone Democratic. Say what you will, though, the shirts do look daintily fragile, and the Governor was elected. More than that, in the state of Maine one Republican Congressman barely scraped through and Sen. Margaret Chase Smith had her majority beaten down to two-fifths of what it was in 1948 for no apparent reason except that she is a Republican.

Nevertheless, the pollsters stick doggedly to their finding that Eisenhower is as popular as ever, which is tempting some people to jump to the conclusion that the pollsters are suffering another spasm of the fit that ruined them in 1948.

At bottom this may be true, but superficially it is open

to a much simpler explanation. It is, that it was Eisenhower, not the Republican Party, who won in 1952, and who attained such unheard-of velocity that the mere wind of his passage knocked over the Democratic majority in Congress. If that is the case, then the pollsters may not have gone crazy at all, for they were checking on Eisenhower, not the party.

But in that case one may reasonably question the sanity of those Republican politicians who think that they did it, and who promptly stuck the Five Star label on their private flasks of White Mule, assuming that the country wouldn't know the difference. To them the news from Maine may well sound like the crack of doom, not for itself alone, but because it echoes the news from New Jersey and California of a year ago, and points up the fact that Kefauver licked the Eisenhower Democrats in Tennessee, and Scott, with no national reputation to help him, licked them in North Carolina. Even Shivers, in Texas, was forced into a run-off primary and was saved only by desperate campaigning and floods of oil money.

Here, then, is a theory that accounts for the results in Maine without assuming either that the pollsters have gone mad or that Maine has really gone Democratic. It is a side dope based on a document slipped to the writer by some anonymous official, but merely the idea of a pollster gazing idly about, that some people and maybe many people have developed a cold dislike of the volatility of the Republican regime.

Certainly it has looked furious, not frivolous. From the start the average Republican politician has taken the advice that W. S. Gilbert gave the British Tar—

His bosom should heave and his heart should glow,
And his fist be ever ready for a knock-down blow—

but Gilbert was a great master of frivolity, one of whose supreme achievements was a Lord High Executioner.

With unsolved problems of the gravest sort piling up daily, the regime has spent 21 months engaged in a ridiculous effort to prove that the foreign policy that had held Communism stymied for seven years was in fact dictated by the Kremlin, and that a domestic policy approved by the country for 20 years had been insane from the start.

Under those policies we had beaten the greatest of our

depressions and won the greatest of our wars. A suggestion that they were becoming out-moded and needed overhauling could be taken seriously and argued with logic; but a suggestion that they were ruinous and devised and applied by men who were fools, if not traitors, was utter frivolity. The effort to brand Dean Acheson as a Communist; the effort to subpoena ex-President Truman to prove his loyalty; the effort to insult General Marshall; the effort to make the farmer once more the economic scapegoat; the effort to resume the tariff policy of William McKinley; the wrecking of the foreign service under guise of a spy-hunt; the attack on the morale of the army on the same excuse—all were unfair and some were vicious, but they were worse, they were comic.

Citizens of Maine are serious-minded people, and there's your answer.

California: Four Feet — One Pair of Shoes

by William L. Roper

WHAT IF President Eisenhower decides not to run in 1956? That is the main preoccupation of both Vice-President Richard M. Nixon and Senate Majority Leader William F. Knowland. Each is eyeing the '56 GOP nomination. But both are from California, which means a fight, a fight which has been on for months.

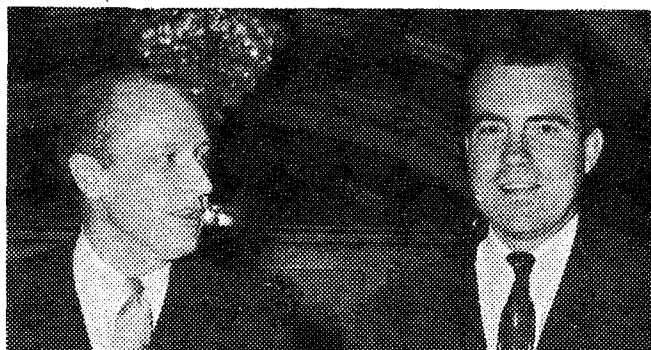
President Eisenhower's flat, firm rejection of Knowland's demand that the United States break off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia over the shooting down of an American patrol bomber was one climax in the fight. Knowland has angered Eisenhower more than once: labeling the Geneva Conference "A Far Eastern Munich"; threatening to resign if Red China were admitted to the United Nations; abandoning the Administration position in order to vote for the Bricker Amendment to limit the President's treaty-making powers. Finally, on September 6, Eisenhower struck back.

But will that rebuff hurt Knowland's Presidential chances; will it give Nixon, who has admittedly been slipping, an advantage?

Much will depend upon how the Russians behave during the next 18 months. More US diplomatic failures will weaken the President's position. And Knowland may be helped by the coming Democratic attack on the Administration's foreign policy. He already seems to have the support of a majority of California voters to his views: in 1952 he won both Republican and Democratic nominations in the primaries with the largest vote ever given a California candidate.

On the other hand, as "traveling salesman" for the Administration's foreign policy, Nixon is saddled with its blunders and its political liabilities. And if Russians continue to shoot down American planes and the State Department has no answer except notes of protest, Nixon's selling job may become a nightmare. Already some smart politicians insist that it is Knowland, not Eisenhower, who has the popular, rabble-rousing, vote-getting angle on this issue. At the very least, Knowland has with it made himself popular with the Republican conservatives who hope to dominate the National Convention in 1956.

Looming behind this maneuvering on the national scene, however, is the huge California delegation—some 70 strong—to the National Convention. Without its support neither Knowland nor Nixon can seriously hope to capture the Presidential nomination. The undercover fight between the Knowland and Nixon forces for control of California came out into the open early in August when they clashed over the choice of a vice chairman for the Republican State Central Committee.



Knowland and Nixon

William L. Roper is a political reporter who helped elect Richard Nixon to his first public office.

Knowland joined Governor Goodwin J. Knight to defeat Nixon's man, Ray Arbuthnot, and assure the election of Knight's choice, Howard F. Ahmanson, a multi-millionaire savings and loan company executive. Ahmanson's election will give Knight control of the party machinery, if he wins the Gubernatorial election in November.

The new State Central Committee vice-chairman Ahmanson, who has served Knight as his campaign chairman, is a key money-raiser. As president of the Home Savings and Loan Association of Los Angeles, the largest outfit of its kind in the world, with resources of \$80 million, he knows how to induce wealthy men to contribute campaign money.

Arbuthnot, the choice of the Nixon faction, is prominent in the citrus industry and has helped raise funds for Nixon's past campaigns. Since Nixon has pledged himself to help elect a group of young Southern California Republican Congressmen who have given the Administration loyal rubber-stamp support, he wanted to control the party finances. But even more important, Nixon and his group wanted control of the California Republican machinery in preparation for the 1956 national convention. Knowland swung to Knight mainly to head off Nixon. And while he and Knight triumphed, the wrangle left deep wounds.

ALTHOUGH several California political writers have speculated that the victory of the Knight-Knowland faction over the Nixonites in this inner-party contest means that Knight will support Knowland as the state's favorite son for the GOP Presidential nomination in 1956, a more logical guess seems to be that Knight will hold this ace card and play it solely in his own interest when the time comes. Prior to their recent alignment, Knight and Knowland have seldom been allies: Knowland has been a Warren man, Knight anti-Warren.

At the 1952 national convention, Nixon angered some California Republicans and most Taft and MacArthur admirers when he and his trusted lieutenants, including his former staff worker, Rep. Patrick Hillings, circulated among the California delegates, urging them to sit on their hands when General Douglas MacArthur made his grand entry. Among the strongly pro-Warren members of the delegation resentment against Nixon was even greater, and many of them have been swinging more and more to Knowland.

It was generally understood that Knowland would have been Taft's Vice-Presidential running mate in 1952 if the California delegation had swung its support to the Ohio Senator. And there were rumors that Knowland had been offered support by the Taft people for the Presidency if he would persuade the California delegates to support Taft, and if Taft then failed to win nomination by the third ballot. Yet Knowland remained steadfastly loyal to Warren, who had appointed him to the Senate in 1945, and refused.

Faced with all this, Nixon realized that Knowland, not he, would be the fair-haired boy in 1956 if Warren continued to be Governor of California. So he began working diligently for Warren's appointment to the Supreme Court. In the days immediately preceding Warren's appointment, Nixon kept the long-distance lines between Washington and California busy. He learned that the California Crime Commission, created by Governor Warren, had been engaged in investigating certain activities of Knight, then lieutenant governor. But after Attorney General Herbert Brownell's hasty flight to California to confer with Warren and the appointment of Warren Olney, California Crime Commission head, to a position with the US Department of Justice, the Administration decided to go ahead with Warren's appointment as Chief Justice, thereby allowing Knight to become Governor by succession.

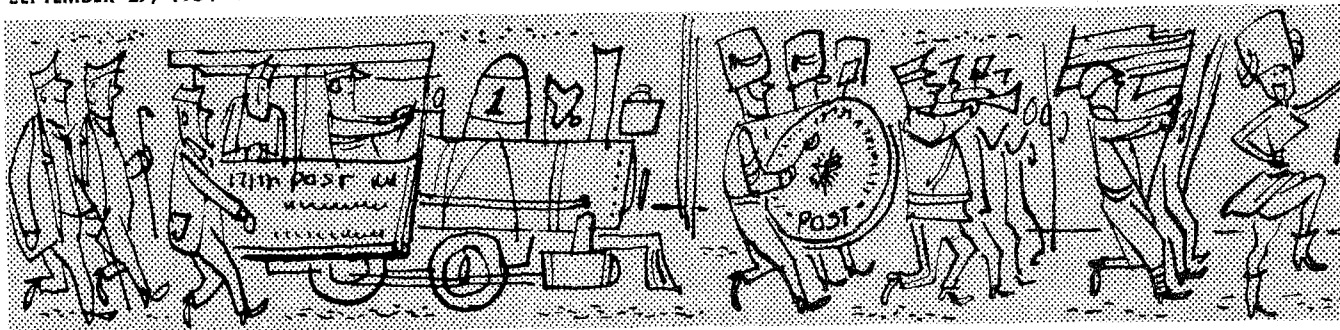
At that time, 1953, it was generally conceded by Republican politicians that Knight could win in the 1954 primaries by capturing both Republican and Democratic nominations. So a Nixon-Knight alliance at that time looked like a good thing for both of them.

But by June, 1954, things had changed in California. A new law required Republicans to show their party affiliation on the ballot, and since there are nearly 800,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans in the State, Knight and many of his fellow GOP candidates failed to win Democratic nominations as they have in times past. And while Knight polled 1,751,198 votes in the two primaries to a total of 896,460 given his Democratic opponent, Richard P. Graves, the November outcome is uncertain. For the first time in many years the Democrats are voting for Democratic candidates, and the Republicans are worried.

FIGHTING for political survival, each man for himself, California Republicans now are vying with each other for campaign funds. After the June primary, a rumor was current that Knight had spent a million and a quarter dollars on his desperate primary campaign to win both Republican and Democratic nominations. This rumor sparked the Congressional candidates aligned with Nixon to try for larger campaign nest eggs of their own. They wanted to make certain that Knight did not get the lion's share of the campaign money for the run-off battles. Self-preservation spurred their fight against Knight's control of the party machinery, causing the Nixon-Knight split and giving Knowland his chance.

In throwing his weight behind Knight, Knowland has made political enemies who are influential in California. Whether they will hurt him more than Governor Knight will help him in 1956 is one of the brain-teasers he has made for himself. Knight is known as a man who frequently forgets old friends.

Nixon, on the other hand, seems at this moment likely to get Eisenhower's backing if the President decides not to run.



Brass and Wood Winds—in Four Parts

by Walter Goodman

August 30: *Andante cantabile*

IN WASHINGTON'S National Guard Armory, the red, white and blue bunting effectively blocked all air vents while 8,000 Legionnaires perspired in 90 degrees Fahrenheit and the Joliet, Illinois, Champion Band played a vigorous march.

The opening speeches steamed: "Red fascism!" declared Past Commander Lewis Gough, "... blood-stained regimes ... undependable allies and neutrals." And: "If the Reds take the rest of Indo-China ... the olive is out of the bottle top and Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia will find it a slippery downhill slide."

President Eisenhower's address, a mild breeze from civilization after this ordeal by desert blast, was interrupted for applause 14 times. The delegates fanned themselves with *Come to Atlantic City* brochures and clapped at every mention of their Legion. But they did not exert themselves indiscriminately. There was no salute for "the loyal and effective officers of our Foreign Service" or for "the inspiring leadership of Secretary of State Dulles," and only the barest acknowledgment of the President's statement that no political party wants to damage America. No cheers met his renunciation of both isolation and preventive war as weapons of policy or his reiteration of support for the United Nations.

Cardinal Spellman brought the first meeting to its most fervent pitch with an address entitled, "The Price of Freedom," in which he criticized the Western diplomats for their shilly-shallying and their reluctance to fight. The delegates shuffled limply from the Armory, and then finished off 4,472 beers and 9,000 soft drinks.

The afternoon was devoted to committee meetings. The prospect of a floor fight arose when the Constitutional Amendments Committee undertook a study of resolutions to withdraw recognition from the "Forty and Eight" if this noise-making, locomotive-borne Legion subsidiary didn't abandon its racial bars to membership—a suggestion that has been coming up and going down every year for the last 10 years. The Forty and Eighters, in their own private convention, voted unanimous opposition to this infringement of their con-

stitutional right to discriminate. And while they were at it, the pranksters—with straight faces now—also voted a unanimous *Oui* on a proposal recommending federal legislation "to exclude atheists from holding office in the United States Government and employment in the educational processes."

To cap this trying day, about 1,000 delegates attended the annual Commander's banquet where Mme. Chiang Kai-shek explained that China had been lost by a smear campaign which split her from her allies. Then, the more fun-loving elements returned to scaring the pigeons off the Treasury Building with miniature cannon blasts, wiggling rubber spiders at young girls and sampling the capital's night life. Gypsy Rose Lee was appearing at the Casino Royale.

August 31: *Scherzo—Allegro vivace spiritoso*

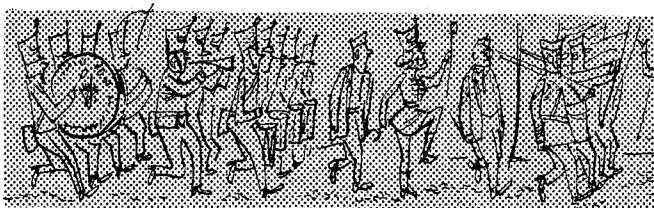
Everyone agreed that the weather was perfect for parading. Thousands of men, women and children (the estimates ranged from 20,000 to 125,000), several horses, and a team of Nebraska oxen marched up Pennsylvania Avenue, made a sharp left at the 15th Street reviewing stand and continued along Constitution Avenue for two blocks before dispersing. From 2 p.m. to 2 a.m. they rode, gamboled, stomped and limped.

But while their comrades were receiving the acclaim of the crowds, members of the Legion's various policy-making committees were closeted in hotel rooms. The Foreign Affairs Committee, pitted against such formidable antagonists as Russia, China, most of Western Europe and the United Nations, had already despaired of meeting its 10 a.m. deadline. The Americanism Committee was grappling with the Girl Scouts of America. The Rehabilitation Committee found itself locked in mortal struggle with the AMA. (The doctors, meanwhile, were accusing the Legionnaires of promoting socialism.) And the Constitutional Amendments Committee was killing—by a vote of 38 to 4—all of those resolutions aimed at the Forty and Eight's "white male only" membership clause. (The New York, New Jersey and Idaho leaders of the anti-discrimination fight

counterattacked with a minority report recommending that the Legion's National Executive be granted the power to change the funsters' by-laws, and the lines were drawn for the next day's major floor fight.)

September 1: *Allegro ma non troppo*

Only a few hundred delegates were in their seats when Waurine Walker, President of the National Education Association, was presented by Commander Connell at 9:45 a.m. Miss Walker, perhaps uneasy about being introduced to such a gathering at such an hour, altered her prepared speech to include several homely anecdotes about Texas and to omit unfriendly words like curriculum. While she spoke, heavy-eyed men



drank coffee from paper cups in the Armory canteen. They were still there when E. LaMar Buckner, 32-year-old President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, appeared on the platform. In a speech full of literary allusions, Mr. Buckner pleaded dynamically for moral health. He called for an *upward reach*, for *courage* in the face of adversity and offered hope-stimulating sketches of Beethoven, Homer, Abraham Lincoln and Jesus.

Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers made an unscheduled appearance to inform the Legionnaires that they were marching with God.

The day's last speaker, AFL President George Meany, was not half-way through his first page before the Legionnaires were cheering his attack on the AMA. Hardly had this ovation subsided when he brought on another by describing peaceful co-existence as a "soft-headed illusion." His demand for permanent opposition to China's admission to the UN brought the house down.

An exotic note was introduced with the arrival of a good-will mission of five Chinese Volunteers who had refused repatriation as POWs in Korea. In Nationalist uniforms now, they stood on the speakers' platform to thank the Legion—in Chinese—for its support of China's freedom. They presented the Commander with a hand-made sword and bared their chests—tattooed with Nationalist flags—to photographers. A man from Argo-Summit, Illinois, blew on a Chinese musette in their honor. The instrument was given to him by a Chicago laundryman 30 years ago and he's been blowing it ever since.

The day's first pieces of business were dispatched smoothly. A unanimously adopted resolution from the

Legislative Committee presented Legionnaires with six questions to ask Congressmen seeking election, leading off with: "What is their position on UMT?" The other five check their fidelity to veterans' civil service preference, veterans' compensation, veterans' hospitalization.

Then the Committee on Constitutional Amendments delivered its report, rejecting those by now famous anti-Forty and Eight resolutions. Almost three-quarters of the auditorium was filled, in anticipation of the argument. The minority report was read and the issue joined; Commander Connell declared that the chair was absolutely impartial.

In conversation before the debate, sponsors of the anti-discrimination measure—all in their sober fifties, all veterans of the veterans' organization—evinced some disdain for the funmakers: by their water pistol, electric tickler antics, etc., they had brought the otherwise impeccable Legion into unpleasant odor, and by their insistence on maintaining a racial bar, they were worsening the stink.

STARTING off, the New Jersey delegate described his measure as a simple bit of housekeeping. The head of the New York delegation spoke of a "moral issue" but didn't go into details. Then a reverend from Hawaii took the floor and, in quivering voice, bluntly decried "un-American race prejudice." A Nebraska delegate tried to get things back to generalities again, but the dirty words had been spoken. One after another, now, delegates rose to accuse the minority of feeding grist to the mills of the nation's reporters—"now before us"—who were manufacturing the slander that a dispute over race prejudice existed in the American Legion. The point at issue, they explained, was simply whether one organization can control the by-laws of a separate and distinct organization, which existed for 20 years before the Legion invited it to affiliate and which brings \$50,000 annually into Legion coffers. The chairman agreed; he didn't want any unsavory racial issues dumped into the collective lap of this fraternal gathering. The minority report was brought to a voice vote and easily beaten down, "favorably rejected" as Commander Connell put it. Three times a strong-voiced New Yorker attempted to get his delegation's direct resolution to knock out the "white male only" clause onto the floor and three times he was ruled out of order. Finally the head of the New York contingent stated that he wanted his 299 votes recorded in favor of the minority report and stomped heroically out of the Armory. Chairs scraped as a hundred veterans made for the canteen and a hundred beers.

At 5:15 a quick motion to recess loosed a fast-running stream up each of the Armory's aisles. This upset the chairman who cried in desperation after his rapidly disappearing audience, "A Legion meeting never recesses without the salute to the flag!"

In the corridor just outside stood a big, heavy-set, bespectacled and open-faced young man named Edward L.

Haugen, Commander of Zenith City Post No. 487, Duluth, Minnesota. He was handing out copies of a resolution, rejected by the Internal Affairs Committee, which he planned to bring to the floor the next day. "Whereas there has been some dissatisfaction on a post level as to what they have to say regarding the national policies of the American Legion," Zenith City suggested that a monthly grass-roots poll on current legislation be taken for the guidance of the Legion lobby. "A lot of professional men don't join the Legion because they're not sure they can go along with all our policies," Mr. Haugen said in his earnest way.

September 2: *Allegro con brio*

The delegates, greeted this morning by two Western Union boys handing out flyers for a book called *The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur*, heard first from Walter Reuther, who warmed their hearts by describing the AMA leaders as "political witch doctors."

Then Henry Cabot Lodge ingratiated himself by revealing that he has been frequently attacked by the *Daily Worker* and by *Pravda*, eliminating several favorable mentions of the UN from his prepared text and declaring with reference to China, "I shall not hesitate to use the veto!" Commander Connell called him a "fighting Legionnaire."

There were other speakers—including General Ridgway who dropped by to express the hope, "May your work have God's blessing"—but the day's high points were the resolutions.

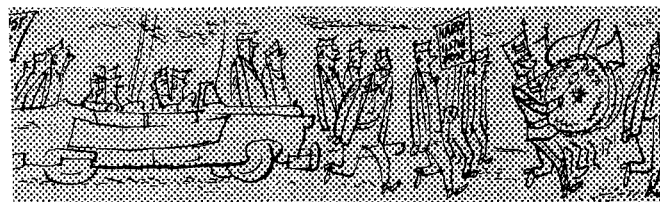
The first of these, from the National Security Committee, repeated the call for Universal Military Training as "the First Legislative Objective of the American Legion for 1955." Then notice was served the Russians that the Legion is "fully cognizant of their aims for world conquest."

Now it was the Internal Affairs Committee's turn and the earnest young man from Duluth tapped his statement nervously against his knee, awaiting the appropriate moment to speak forth. But a peculiar thing happened. After the committee chairman had announced that Minnesota's resolution No. 448 was to be tabled, one of the members who had voted to table it the day before asked that it be held out of the main report—thus permitting discussion on it, precisely the action that the lone Minnesotan from Duluth had planned. He was surprised, but decided upon reflection that the committee was just making certain he would have his chance at bat. To the suggestion that some sort of parliamentary maneuver was being worked, he shook his head: "No, I think they're trying to give me a lift."

The report was completed and the man who had received the chair's permission 10 minutes earlier to have the resolution held out for discussion, rose and unobtrusively withdrew this request, referring to the paragraph in question only by number. The young man

from Minnesota, hunched in his seat and apparently listening, held his peace. Not until the full committee report—including the original tabling of his resolution—had been approved did he inquire about what had happened. Learning that his baby had just been laid aside for a year, he asked to have it brought to the floor again, but now the chair's approval was no longer adequate. He would need the approval of a majority of the full meeting before he could even present any arguments. His request was put to the delegates who promptly and predictably turned it down with an impatient voice vote. The Commander of the Zenith City Post stood at a dead microphone, big, earnest and ineffectual in a green shirt hanging over his trousers.

The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Rogers Kelley of Edinburg, Texas, who had kept order over committee sessions with a quiet Old South graciousness burst forth when his reporting time came like a Holy Roller evoking some terrible Apocalypse. He waved arms, clenched fists, and pounded for a fierce hour. On the lawn outside a National Guardsman was demonstrating a 27-ton anti-aircraft gun to an entranced



audience of Legionnaires and newsboys. A member of the Americanism Committee was laying out a few pamphlets on a table in the lobby for the delegates' suggested perusal: A reprint of the *U.S. News* interview with Martin Dies, "They Tried to Get Me Too"; a copy of *The Firing Line* and *National Republic*, two self-designated patriotic publications; eight separate defenses of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act from Senator McCarran's office; and the transcript of a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearing on Communist propaganda.

Inside the hall, Mr. Kelley from Texas ranged over the world like the angel over Sodom. He advised the government to warn the Communist states that if they don't stop aggressing the US will retaliate immediately, with or without allies. He told these allies to stop trading with China. He cautioned India about her laxity toward Communism. He asked the Administration to consider severing relations with the USSR and to get to work on rearming Germany. He lamented replacement of "massive retaliation" with "massive appeasement."

The hard-working Illinois delegation took exception to two of Mr. Kelley's points. For his unenthusiastic backing of the UN, Illinois wanted to substitute a call for immediate withdrawal. But the motion was tabled. The ideological kin of the *Tribune* Tower had better luck with their request that the wholehearted support

evinced by the committee for the Bricker Amendment be made wholehearteder with a specific declaration that not even Congress should have the right to vote for a treaty which tampers with "the Constitution that every Legionnaire swears to uphold at every post meeting." A few words were inserted to please Illinois and international issues were settled for the current year. Mr. Kelley left the Armory alone and chatted quietly with a taxi driver for a few minutes before driving off.

THE Americanism Committee's resolutions, eagerly awaited by countless patriotic groups throughout the land, brought on several flurries. A New Jersey delegate got the proposal for a Legion-NEA joint study of UNESCO killed; the Legion, he said, is capable of doing its own studying of UNESCO without any help from educators. Judge Musmano of Pennsylvania asked for a rising vote of thanks to the Administration and Congress for outlawing the Communist Party. He looked to the heavens and in Jeremiah's voice pledged that the Legion will not rest until "every Communist is imprisoned or on the high seas in deportation."

The somewhat embarrassing resolution alerting the Girl Scouts of America to infiltration of their ranks by disloyal elements was next in line. Delegates from Kansas and Georgia proposed throwing in a paragraph commending the scouts for their admirable aims. A very truculent young fellow from Illinois protested paying such a tribute to so questionable an organization. He lost his good fight, but a man from Indiana salved all hurt feelings by devoting two minutes praising the Illinois Department for its vigilance in unearthing this threat to our nation.

And it came time for John B. Barnard, Jr., Colorado State Commander, to rise with the convention's most intriguing motion. One of the Americanism Committee's resolutions had, very simply, commended the several Congressional investigating bodies and urged that they continue their valuable work without interference. After expressing his due regard for this sentiment, the Coloradoan offered an amendment condemning the abuse of powers and of witnesses by such committees.

There was a stir on the platform; this hadn't been prepared for as neatly as the amiable Minnesotan's request for grass-roots democracy. The angry young man from Illinois (a state which shouldered most of the afternoon's patriotic burdens) declared that the amendment was inconsistent with the resolution and hence out of order. The official parliamentarian concurred in this opinion. A Rhode Island delegate, still chafing from

his bloc's defeat on the Forty and Eight issue, yelled, "It's about time something controversial got voted on at this convention." The chair did call for a vote—on whether the Colorado Commander was in order. From the balcony just above the chairman it sounded very close, but the chairman, ears attuned for the slightest variation, did not hesitate a second before announcing, "The Nays have it" and plunging into the next piece of business.

Commander Barnard, a six-footer from Granby, said a few moments later that he would have asked for a roll call if time hadn't been running short. As he stood in the aisle, other delegates came up to shake his hand. A New Englander called his amendment "the best damn thing that's happened since we got here." Someone wearing the red cap of a member of the National Executive Committee complimented him for a good try but shrugged at the possibility of "bucking them." Despite the *I Like Joe* buttons adorning a number of the delegates' caps, Barnard thinks his motion will have a fair chance next year. He's in his thirties and doesn't mind waiting a while.

Three dozen other Americanism resolutions went through without incident, including such choice ones as: no monument to the Rosenbergs; investigate the Civil Liberties Union and tax-exempt foundations; commend the Hearst papers for their anti-Communist battles; make sure schools reject UNESCO materials; have confidence in former Communists; give the Justice Department wire-tapping powers; fight federal aid to education; pledge "wholehearted and unquestioned support" to the FBI. All new currency, the committee recommended, "shall have imprinted suitable patriotic slogans, quotations or references such as IN GOD WE TRUST."

AT LAST came the elections. Seaborn P. Collins, a New Mexico real-estate man whose pictures had been hanging around town for a week, was nominated. The famous Santa Fe Indian Band struck up "Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here," while a red-green-yellow apparelled drum and bugle corps from Albuquerque marched around the Armory followed by a couple of hundred delegates holding their state signs high. This spontaneous demonstration for a candidate who had been chosen in May lasted about 15 minutes. Two favorite sons—with aspirations for coming years—were nominated proudly and humbly withdrawn. The chaplain asked that the rules be suspended so that Collins' victory might be unanimous. This was accomplished, and another spontaneous demonstration broke out, and both bands played with enthusiasm.



BOOKS & COMMENT

Dos Passos — The Fruits of Disillusionment

by Granville Hicks

IN *Chosen Country*, published three years ago, John Dos Passos, for the first time since the outset of his career, wrote a novel that could be called autobiographical. Not only did the hero of the novel, Jay Pignatelli, resemble Dos Passos; his father was modeled upon Dos Passos' father, his wife upon Dos Passos' first wife. And the central

Most Likely to Succeed, by John Dos Passos (Prentice-Hall; \$3.50).

theme—Jay's conversion to radicalism and his reconversion to love of country—was drawn from Dos Passos' experience, though the novel foreshortened and distorted that experience in a strange and disappointing fashion.

Jed Morris, the central character of *Most Likely to Succeed*, is not autobiographical; far from it. But the novel is closely related to its predecessor by virtue of the fact that its theme is the converse of the theme of the earlier book: it tells the story of a man who was converted to radicalism and was not reconverted but became more and more nefariously involved in a conspiracy against his native land. And one important episode is based upon an episode in Dos Passos' life—his involvement in the late twenties in the left-wing New Playwrights' Theatre.

It is a matter of record that several radical playwrights of the late twenties and early thirties wound up in Hollywood, where, for many years, they were paid handsome salaries for writing what the movie moguls wanted them to write. It is also a matter of record that a considerable proportion of the handsome salaries went to the support of Communist causes, and there is good reason to believe that some of these men were, over a long period of time, members of the Communist Party. The ironies and incongruities of this situation have often been a matter of comment, and the wonder is that the situation hasn't been made into a novel before this.

Dos Passos begins his version of the affair in 1926, introducing us to Jed Morris as he is making love to a rich divorcee on a homeward-bound ocean liner. On reaching New York, Jed is met by his estranged wife and their daughter, by Felicia Hardestie, his current mistress, and by Sam Faust, a lawyer who is interested in the theater. Together with Sam Faust, Lew Golton, George Pastor, and Eli Soltair, and with funds from a financier named Adolph Baum, Jed launches The Craftsman's Theatre and becomes chairman of its board. The novel describes the misadventures of The Craftsman's Theatre, including the failure of Jed's play, *Shall Be the Human Race*.

When he receives an offer from Hollywood, Jed easily convinces himself that he ought to accept it, and in the same way, temptation by temptation, he convinces himself that he ought to do whatever is necessary to achieve a Hollywood success. Persuaded by Sam Faust and Lew Golton to join the Communist Party, he cringes before party officials as shamelessly as he cringes before directors and producers. As the years go by and his income rises and his involvement with the party intensifies, his relationship with Felicia deteriorates. She leaves him, and he takes up with Jane Marlowe, the rich divorcee he met at the beginning of the story. But some years later, just after he has told La Marlowe that he loves her "more than anybody I ever loved anywhere," he forsakes her on orders from the party.

JED, in short, is a heel and there is never a moment in the book when one feels that he is capable of being anything else. At the outset Dos Passos does endow Jed with a certain superficial charm, but he also emphasizes his vanity, his boastfulness, and the coarseness of his moral fiber. Jed is incapable of loyalty either to a cause or to a human being, and the radicalism of his early career, if not purely hypocritical, is ludi-

crously shallow. He enters gladly upon a career of prostitution in Hollywood, and he joins the Communist Party, not out of conviction, and not even because membership salves his conscience, but because it feeds his vanity and fosters his career.

If Jed could be regarded as representative of the radical playwrights who have been accused of a double sell-out, their careers would seem very easy to understand and very dull. But the real story was considerably more complicated, as Dos Passos can be made to testify. He was not only a director of the New Playwrights' Theatre; he was one of its spokesmen, and during the first season he wrote in the *New Masses* (December, 1927) about its aims. "It must draw its life and ideas," he said, "from the conscious sections of the industrial and white collar working classes which are out to get control of the great flabby mass of capitalist society and mold it to their own purpose."

THE FOLLOWING June, after commenting on the "tremendous shower of brickbats" that had greeted the New Playwrights, he reviewed the plays thus far produced, saying, "My personal opinion is that both *The Centuries* and *The International* will turn out to be important landmarks in theatre history." In spite of the abuse of the critics, he announced, there would be another season. "The American mind is smothered in wisecracks," he wrote, "in five and ten cent store Ritziness and in the rising imaginary billions of oil prosperity. Still people will gamble with their money. They can be induced to take a chance with their minds and their feelings once in a while. Even if they can't it's no time to abandon a theatre that at least can be a center of resistance." The next year he reviewed all the productions of the New Playwrights, including his own *Airways, Inc.*, which was its final offering, and once more insisted that an important contribution had been made to the development of a revolutionary American drama.

Obviously Dos Passos at the time took the New Playwrights' Theatre seriously, and so, in varying degrees, did his associates—Mike Gold, John Howard Lawson, Emjo Basshe, and Francis Faragoh. Doctrinaire as Lew Golton in the novel, Mike Gold may have been as sullen and John Howard Lawson as vain and

self-seeking as Jed Morris, but there was more than that to be said about these men, and certainly there was more to be said about the New Playwrights' Theatre than Dos Passos says about The Craftsman's Theatre. (It is ironic that the play Dos Passos describes in unflattering detail in the novel, Jed's *Shall Be the Human Race*, corresponds in more than name to the play he praised most highly in his *New Masses* pieces, Lawson's *The International*.)

MAKE this excursion into ancient history because it seems to me that Dos Passos' inability to come to terms with his own past explains the failure of his new novel, as it explained the failure of *Chosen Country*. That his views on social problems have changed in the past twenty-five years is neither surprising nor discreditable, but his complete detachment from his earlier self makes it impossible for him to write with either insight or conviction on the subjects that have recently engaged him. A Congressman who had never had an idea that wasn't derived from the Chicago *Tribune* could not look more blankly on an ex-Communist witness, testifying on his actions and beliefs in the thirties, than Dos Passos looks on the ghosts he has conjured up.

As in *Chosen Country*, one mark of Dos Passos' failure is the confusion in the chronology. In the earlier novel he attempted to compress into a few years an intellectual process that in his own life had taken decades, and consequently either the foreground or the background was constantly out of focus. *Most Likely to Succeed* does cover twenty years, but by means of a hop, skip, and a jump. Two years actually vanish somewhere in the first part of the book, and in the second part the years hurtle by. For a social novelist like Dos Passos, the sense of time is indispensable, for time is the dimension in which his materials exist, and if he loses his bearings, there is small chance of his arriving at his goal.

Irving Howe, in commenting on the *District of Columbia* trilogy, rightly stated that *USA* was sustained by passion. As Howe observed, there was little enough passion in *District of Columbia*, but there is less—in fact, there is none at all—in *Chosen Country* and *Most Likely to Succeed*. Furthermore, though *Chosen Country* at least had warmth, *Most Likely to Succeed* has no

emotion whatever but merely a cold, detached, unhappy boredom. There is freshness in one scene laid on Cape Cod and some authenticity in the account of theatrical activities, but the whole Hollywood episode is made up of commonplace. That Dos Passos, who once seemed to have the sharpest eyes in America, should now see only what has been pointed out a dozen times is a sad fact to contemplate.

The easy thing to say about Dos Passos—and I have said it more than once—is that he is the kind of novelist who has to have a cause, that from the middle twenties to the middle thirties he thought he had one, and that since then he has been wandering blindly. That is true as far as it goes, but the decay of Dos Passos' talents is too great to be explained merely in terms of political disillusionment. *Most Likely to Succeed* is not the sort of bad novel that good novelists occasionally write; on the contrary, if it had no name attached to it, one would assume that it was the work of a not very promising beginner. These are harsh words and words I am sorry to say, but we are confronted with nothing less than a literary debacle. Probably we can never fully understand why it came about; we can only see it as one of the saddest things that happened in recent literary history.

Kennan's Reappraisal

In *American Diplomacy*, George Kennan examined the emergence of utopianism in our foreign policy and found it irresponsible. In these four lectures, delivered at Princeton, he advances his examination to the present and finds our

Realities of American Foreign Policy, by George F. Kennan (Princeton; \$2.75).

current diplomacy to be fundamentally unsound.

In a brief review of the past, Kennan retraces the origins of utopianism in the pretensions of Victorian America. He follows its course since 1900 in the 97 arbitration agreements signed by the United States, the disarmament conferences and the Kellogg Pact. "The evil of these utopian enthusiasms," he concludes, "was not only or even primarily

the wasted time, the misplaced emphasis, the encouragement of false hopes. . . . The cultivation of these utopian schemes took place at the expense of our feeling for reality."

Reality, however, intruded upon us in two world wars and the cold war with the Communists. Instead of adjusting ourselves to reality, we have in Kennan's view followed simultaneously two unrealistic extremes; one a sentimental attachment to the American dream of a world free of conflict and responsive to moral persuasion, the other a nightmarish and fatalistic pursuit of the law of the jungle in dealing with the Communist enemy. Both approaches, Kennan believes to be self-defeating.

First Kennan condemns the current utopianism. He holds that "many of our traditional American concepts as to what sort of a world we ought now to be seeking must be recognized at once as irrelevant and ill-conceived." He criticizes our attitude of moral superiority and adds:

The sources of international tension are always specific, never general. . . . in most international differences elements of right or wrong are . . . if they exist at all . . . simply not discernible to the outsider.

For the forum of our moral stances, the United Nations, Kennan sees a useful but modest role. He believes it is a great disservice to the long range potentialities of the UN to "encumber it with responsibilities that must obviously break its back." He further condemns our insistence upon placing great decisions in the hands of the UN Assembly which lacks the power and the will to execute them. "We are a great nation," Kennan declares. "This is a heavy responsibility. It rests squarely on us. We will not really evade it or spread it extensively by contriving always to appear in the company of an international majority."

Next Kennan turns to condemn the parallel attitude in current American diplomacy, of denial of principle, reliance on military force, and acceptance of the inevitability of atomic war. This attitude, he argues, accomplishes the work of the Kremlin in breaking the free nations apart. He grants that the Soviet rulers are innately hostile to us; that nuclear weapons are an appalling threat; that the Communist parties are "a nuisance and an impertinence," and

that "the geographic over-extension of Soviet power is a serious and unhealthy anomaly and needs desperately to be remedied." Yet war is no answer. "In all of this," concludes Kennan, "I see no reason for jitters, for panic or for melodramatic actions. I do see reasons for hard work, sober thinking, for great deliberateness of statesmanship, for a high degree of national self-discipline and for the cultivation of an atmosphere of unity and mutual confidence among our own people."

This conclusion leads Kennan to the problem that most troubles him. His analysis forms an indictment of much of Secretary Acheson's approach and of far more in the current attitudes of Secretary Dulles and President Eisenhower. But Kennan does not pause to point this out. He is looking beyond these spokesmen to the people whom they represent. He believes that foreign policy is a reflection of domestic trends. He views these trends with deep misgiving. He points out that domestic achievements such as the TVA have counted for far more overseas than our military power. He sees no purposeful spirit in present-day America similar to that which produced the TVA. In its place he finds neurotic fear. He voices the concern of our allies and his own revulsion for the excesses of McCarran and McCarthy. He holds that their domination is incompatible with our world role. He notes that union with our overseas partners is a historic necessity. He adds, "I do not think this country is today in any condition to unite with anyone."

In venturing into the obscure regions of domestic solutions, Kennan concedes his lack of sharply defined ideas. He calls in general terms for a relearning of our national purpose, a new awareness of the responsibilities of world leadership, and a steady preparation for the structural changes demanded if the alliance of free nations is to prosper. He asks that we become once more a "receptive nation," that is, that in every sense, "the demographic, the cultural and the intellectual," we learn "to take as well as to give."

That is the heart of Kennan's argument, and Walter Lippmann alone in this country can match him in depth of thought and clarity of style. There is much in this slim book that I would question. Kennan, for example, like Lippmann, sees the United Nations and

the League of Nations as expressions of the utopianism born of America's unique attitudes. But the devotion to both institutions has been at least as great overseas as in this country. It seems to me that a far sounder interpretation of these "utopian" projects is one which regards them as popular efforts to extend the principles and techniques of democracy from the level of domestic politics to the world political scene. The effort is natural and inevitable as peoples realize that their lives are largely shaped by world events, and endeavor to shape these events by the methods they understand and operate at home. Nor can this profound trend be reversed.

How far self-governing peoples can master the problems of world politics; how far, that is, democracy and diplomacy can be reconciled, is the next question. Kennan's answers so far are inconclusive. But this book we can be sure represents an early development in the thought of a keen and sensitive observer of world affairs who has returned to study his own country.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

Facts for Independents

THIS BOOK is based on the confident conviction that the key to the congressional elections of 1954 is the independent voters. "They represent the fulcrum of power which will determine national direction" and "As goes the independent voter so goes the nation this fall." This appeal is indicative of a strong trend evident in the opinion

Guide to Politics 1954, edited by Quincy Howe and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (Dial; \$2.50).

polls—the mounting percentage of independent voters. Whether this is a cause or consequence of the growing cult of non-partisanship is uncertain.

Time was, within the memory of millions, when independents in politics were rare and "mugwump" was a smear word. It was not easy then to find many who were not either avowed Democrats or avowed Republicans. Yet it is clear enough, as Pendleton Herring points out, that if there were only faithful party members and no inde-

pendents the party system would not work.

A large body of independents, that the two major parties must endeavor to conciliate, is necessary to a healthy two-party system. But the independent pays a high price for his independence. Harvey Fergusson shows that his is an utterly unintegrated group standing for nothing definite; and even if a President or legislator felt that he owed his election to the independent vote, "he would be at a loss to know how to serve it for it is truly both divided and dumb."

In any case the *Guide to Politics* is frankly addressed to "this large, crucial, and unique group," the independent voter. The appeal on the issues is made by 14 "liberals" of the sort that the reactionaries, in their blindness, always denounce as "so-called liberals."

Four of them deal with economic issues. Leon Keyserling, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, reproduces here practically his *New Republic* article of August ninth and criticizes the Republican complacency over the "leveling off" of unemployment. Robert Nathan considers the Republican administration "obsessed" with tax reduction which works out for the benefit of corporations and "higher income individuals" with the workers finding their small tax reductions more than counterbalanced by increased social security payments. Senator Hubert Humphrey shows that per capita farm income is less than half that enjoyed by non-farm people. He argues that the flexible supports of the Eisenhower administration will decrease supports when the farmers are suffering from low prices and provide "higher support only when they don't need it at all." He condemns the administration's failure to improve the diet of low income groups. It even asked for lower appropriations for school lunches, rejected a food stamp plan, and refused consideration of giving the consumer a break by linking farm aid with a plan that would let farm products find their price in an open market. Senator Wayne Morse blasts the Administration's "running a bargain basement sale on the natural resources of the Nation." Today he finds "far-seeing plans for long-range multipurpose development and widest public benefit are being demolished by the Eisenhower Administration." Morse does not say it but the utility issue may

be loaded with dynamite for the Republicans.

Issues of freedom are dealt with by five public men. With some restraint Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., deals with freedom as related to national security. In the Oppenheimer case we applied a "ritualistic concept of security" and "succumbed to a sinister madness." We have "weakened our government by driving out independent-minded and inquiring public servants and placing a premium on yes-men, eunuchs and dim-wits." Congressman Charles Howell chides the Republicans of the Eightieth Congress for emasculating even the mild Senate rule limiting filibustering and thereby giving aid and comfort to the enemies of civil rights. Senator Lehman quotes President Eisenhower's campaign pledge to have the McCarran Act revised and then relieves his feelings against the act with the statement:

An American citizen can challenge in the courts, up to the Supreme Court, the ruling of a government official who denies his right to bring in a box cheese. But this same American cannot challenge the ruling of a government official denying admission to the citizen's mother, spouse, or child.

James E. Doyle, Wisconsin Democratic State chairman until the beginning of this year, contributes the article on "McCarthyism." He gets satisfaction from the fact, confirmed by Louis Bean's statistical table, that Senator McCarthy's vote was at the bottom and far below all other state-wide candidates in Wisconsin in 1952. Senator James Murray, dealing with the Taft-Hartley law, quotes President Eisenhower's pre-election statement:

I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. Neither do I.

Then the President failed to go as far as the late Senator Taft in recommending improvements in the law.

International relations are handled by four well-known publicists. Congressmen Chet Holifield of California, writing on "The H-Bomb and National Defense," condemns the Administration's apparent chief reliance on the bomb to the neglect of the conventional defense arms. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt turns against the critics of the United Nations the words of President

Eisenhower himself. Averell Harriman comments on the deterioration of foreign policy in the last eighteen months and calls for a leadership "creative, intelligent, and bold" and "the restoration and revitalization of the coalition of free nations." Chester Bowles is convinced that our policy in combating Communism in Asia should be to utilize deep-seated social forces of the non-Communist two-thirds of Asia—emerging nationalism, land hunger, the urge for better living. A future congressional committee, he suspects, may be set up seeking an answer to the question, "Who lost Asia?"

The ninety pages of Part Two, "American Politics," is Gus Tyler's detailed handbook of the art of practical politics. The sociologist would certainly challenge his statement that to ignore politics is to surrender all social control over your fate—certainly not "all." His statement that "the discipline of American political parties is well nigh zero" is disproved by the pattern of party voting in the statistical tables in Part Four.

However, these defects will not mar the value of the practical advice given for campaigning.

In Part Three, Louis Bean summarizes his system for forecasting elections based on the statistical record of mid-term congressional elections during the last century. The Republican Congressional Campaign Committee will get no comfort from it. Bean makes no specific prediction but the traditional anti-administration swing of mid-term congressional elections, the considerable unemployment still persisting, and the farm discontent over the modification of farm support combine to produce difficulties for the administration in the fall campaign.

Here is no pot boiler—no conventional "campaign document" but a temperate, well reasoned, factual appeal to the independent voter. It is merciless and persistent in search for weak spots in the Republican record. Remarkable is the avoidance of irritating gibes—many independents are heirs of the Republican tradition. It must be comforting for these contributors after nearly a quarter of a century to be on the outside relieved of governmental responsibility and now free to put their opponents on the defensive.

WILFRED E. BINKLEY

Explaining America

GEORGE R. STEWART is Professor of English at the University of California at Berkeley, and a distinguished novelist, philologist and travel writer. In 1952-53 he was Fulbright Professor of American literature and Civilization at the University of Athens. Trying to explain to the Greeks the causes and character-

American Ways of Life, by George R. Stewart (Doubleday, \$3.95).

istics of many aspects of American life, it occurred to him that his own countrymen might be interested in the same material; he rewrote some of his lectures, added other subjects, and this book is the result. "In certain respects," he says, "the theme of this book may be considered a humble one . . . [dealing] with various topics of unglamorous and everyday nature. . . . But in other respects the theme of the book is a proud one . . . that miracle by which from immigrants and exiles out of many nations has been fused, in the end, one nation."

His separate chapters include discussions of, among other matters, language, religion, food and drink, clothing, shelter, sex, recreation and the arts. His scholarship has been heroic; as he says, "much of the material has been dug out of original sources because no scholar has previously bothered to collect it." But he brushes away the chips and shavings, and writes lightly and amusingly of what we do and why we do it. His book is full of what seem to me fascinating bits of information; the only piece of wearing apparel we have taken over from the Indian is the moccasin; we pronounce bath as the Elizabethans did it: it is the English who have changed, when they say "bahth"; such characteristic American foods as watermelon, peanuts and sweet potatoes are not native—watermelon is from Africa, and peanuts and sweet potatoes from Brazil; our fondness for fried food and hot bread originated in the campfire cooking of the frontier; the log cabin came from Sweden, and was very slow in spreading to this country; the use of middle names is a modern invention: in 1740 only two or three percent employed them.

Mr. Stewart's volume omits large areas

of our life: he himself mentions business and work, education, government and politics, law, place names and family relationships. Perhaps he will write of these in another book and I, for one, certainly hope so.

Stewart is impressed by the strong influence of heredity (in the sense that a cultural pattern is inherited) as opposed to environment. The Puritans went on wearing heavy North European costumes in the broiling heat of American summers; they huddled their houses together, not for protection against the Indians, but because British and Dutch towns were built that way. May Day in England celebrated the first coming of Spring, but in South Carolina, for example, the immigrants went on marking the occasion even though by then the stifling summer might have been going on for weeks.

Stewart thinks the persisting culture is the chief influence on language, shelter, the arts, sex patterns, names, holidays, and until recently, clothing. The environment has influenced us in regard to food and drink, and religion. One conspicuous change is our refusal to drink tea in European amounts, which seems to go back to the British tax on tea and the Boston Tea Party; we are willing, however, to drink iced tea, which we consider an American invention.

The Greeks were lucky to have such a knowledgeable fellow as Professor Stewart to tell them about America, and we are equally lucky that his experience gave him the idea of writing this book.

BRUCE BLIVEN

Notes on the Critics

GRANVILLE HICKS' most recent book is *Where We Came Out*; Mr. Hicks edits the book section of *The New Leader*. WILFRED E. BINKLEY is on the history faculty of Ohio Northern University. ERIC BENTLEY's piece is the last of those that will be reprinted next month in book form by the Horizon Press.

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399

THEATRE

THE operatic stage is coming to be dominated by Mozart. In England he is a theatrical presence second only to Shakespeare; while in America he is a theatrical presence second to none. Without him we should be lost. Our debt to those at the Metropolitan and New York's City Center who keep Mozart present among us is, accordingly, incalculable.

Those who tell me that this vote of thanks had better been offered to RCA Victor are overlooking the adjective *theatrical*. I trust it is not mere professional bias that makes me feel that a purely musical approach to Mozart is inadequate. I have in mind not merely that stage production "adds a lot." That might be a disadvantage. Rather, I have in mind that Mozart is all the time *applying* his music to the spectacle, the character, and the story. One of the most striking examples was recently cited by Joseph Kerman in *Opera News*. It is that moment near the end of *Figaro* when the Count asks the Countess to forgive him. How could anyone know what the music was up to except by considering the theatrical context? And those who say "oh well, you can always *imagine* the theatrical context" just do not know the theatre and the kind of appeal it has. John Gielgud's performance in *Hamlet* is not something you can "imagine" while reading the play.

The only words vouchsafed to Mozart's Count at that great moment are: "Countess, pardon!" It is the music that tells us what this pardon means in human weakness and contrition. And we are reminded of the great arias in Mozart's operas where—in every case, I believe—the words are pretty commonplace and it is the music that provides the "poetry." Has the purely musical approach to Mozart some justification then? Certainly, music critics constantly revert to it.

It is also true that there have been critics to find sublimity in the most banal verses of *The Magic Flute*. They would have us believe that Mozart's librettists are sages and great poets. This is a mistaken line of defense. The right defense of the Mozart librettos would start, I think, with the observation that great

poetry set to music is not an ideal recipe for opera, in fact that there is no great dramatic poetry yet written that operatic music would not ruin. It is true that the songs in Shakespeare's plays are better poetry than anything by Lorenzo Da Ponte. Even at that, their "goodness" would be lost in arias of anything like Mozartian elaboration.

I do not want to get off on the vexed question to what extent we shall ever hear the words in opera. Rather, I'd maintain that, in any event, what the librettist needs is a command, not of great poetry, but of operatic dramaturgy. He is less of a poet than a planner of scenarios, and this planning involves a great deal more than the art of storytelling in combination with music (though Heaven knows that is a lot).

To take a single example: the Mozart finales. There is seldom much narrative in them. What we have is the whole cast coming on stage. The task of the librettist is the interweaving of threads and, in Mozart, what an intricate interweaving that is! At this point, it is true, it becomes impossible to tell where the librettist's work ends and the composer's begins. But that Mozart is a "dramatist" of the first order is no evidence that Da Ponte is not.

The crucial case is *Così fan tutte*. The libretto has suffered more than a century and a half of contempt, and all because it is not supreme reading matter. But it was never meant to be read! And, as for the plot being "absurd," as all the music critics say it is (consult your record album), why, all comic plots are absurd; perhaps the music critics haven't read *Twelfth Night*. This little story is a very respectable chip off the old block of Italian theatre. It is quintessentially theatrical. By all means, it would take a Molière to add the "poetry"; but then Da Ponte *had* a Molière; namely, Mozart. You can't take part of a thing and condemn it for its incompleteness. *Così fan tutte* is as near to perfection, if I'm any judge, as any single product of the human mind; there being no faults to ascribe, how can we ascribe some to poor Da Ponte?

Some will retort that Mozart productions are more theatrical nowadays than a generation ago. Some critics have even longed for the days when you just had a row of great singers on what was virtually a decorated concert platform.

And I don't know that their position is incompatible with mine. A row of great singers on a platform might give you more of the drama than groupings of mediocre singers *on a stage that is not the right stage for Mozart*. Cecil Smith used to criticize the "newly directed" operas of the Met in these columns—and to great effect. Though we give thanks for the presence of Mozart, we deplore the way our impresarios dress him up. Many of the shortcomings can't of course be helped. They are matters of money—or rather, lack of it. But I seem to have detected, especially at the Met, a certain lack of faith, too, not in the music, but in the drama. In comedy lack of faith usually shows itself in a straining to be droll; in tragedy, in a fear of overseriousness. See *Don Giovanni*—greatest of tragicomedies—at the Met and you will be offended by both kinds of evasion. Critics have stressed the element of brutal realism in Almoviva in *Figaro*; yet even so impressive a singing actor as George London descends at times to the usual puerilities.

We have had in our own language a critic—W. J. Turner—who has fully understood the Shakespearian depth of drama beneath *Così fan tutte*. Yet when Alfred Lunt directs it at the Met he seems to be thinking of Sheridan. The singers have been given a lot of help, that is clear—but only in externals.

The City Center, more limited as its resources may be, often manages to provide a more enjoyable evening. Except at the top of the balcony you can see and hear; at the Met I have yet to learn if there is such a thing as a good seat. The Center's standards are, of course, very uneven; last season I saw a *Figaro* that was as bad as their *Don Giovanni* was good. But even when the result is not right, there is always a sense that the occasion is theatre. Among the shows I saw, this theatrical sense was most resplendent, not in Mozart, but in Rossini's *Cinderella*, a fact which should probably be credited principally to Lincoln Kirstein—to my mind one of the great benefactors of New York theatre today. (The only large grumble I have—and it applies as much to the Met as to the Center—is at the use of the Martins' Broadwayish translations; adequate enough for Strauss operettas, they mean murder to Mozart.)

ERIC BENTLEY

CORRESPONDENCE

► The Uses of Science

In your July 12 issue you were taken to task by a reader for wanting the West to keep ahead of Russia in the nuclear armament race. This chap prefers to see Dr. Oppenheimer's talents directed to non-defense achievements.

What good would such achievements do any of us if we allow Russia to win, either by "cold" or "hot" procedures, as she certainly will win if we allow her to get atomic supremacy? There's no dampfool like an educated dampfool.

KEN BELDIN

Tenancingo, Mexico

► Snobbery and the Colleges

Much may be criticized in our colleges, to be sure, but it is difficult to get excited about the selection methods of Ivy League schools ("The Narrow Door to College Admissions, NR, Sept. 13). Unless one's aim in life is to be a bigger and better snob, what difference does it make whether he be selected by Harvard? If it is really an education that one wants I suspect that this is attainable at one of our other schools; I doubt if selection methods other than academic records are used at the University of Illinois, for example. I suspect that even CCNY might make learning available, if one were really interested in this aspect of college functions.

As long as the undemocratic selection procedure was being discussed, why not mention the most undemocratic aspect of Ivy League schools, namely, their

discrimination against the underprivileged female sex?

New Republic could serve a real purpose by publishing critical analyses of our colleges and their inadequacies in meeting enrollment problems. Inasmuch as any qualified person (regardless of race, sex, religion, politics, etc.) can make use of the best minds and facilities of our colleges, provided they can scrape up the tuition and bus fare, I am no more worried about the would-be intellectual snobs who are denied admission to Princeton than I am about the would-be social snobs who are denied admission to podunk country club.

A. EISENSTARK
Associate Professor
Kansas State College

BANDWAGON

Lieut. Col. Erlin J. Bragdon of the defense asked Sergeant Peterson whether Corporal Batchelor ever played music over the camp loudspeaker system. . . .

"Yes, Communist music," the sergeant replied.

"What do you mean by Communist music?"

"Well, besides Chinese numbers they played English numbers like 'The East Is Red'."

"Didn't they play any American Communist music?"

"Yes, 'Old Man River.'"

"What do you mean, 'Old Man River' is Communist?"

"Well, Paul Robeson sang it," the witness replied.—*New York Times*, September 14, 1954.

Some of the finest members of the 96 Junior Chambers of Commerce in Germany are former SS officers, declared Rober Flumerfelt, national vice-president of the Junior Chamber of Commerce speaking at the Palliser luncheon of the Rotary club Tuesday. The head of the Jaycees in Germany was also a former Nazi stormtrooper.—*The Albertan* (Calgary, Canada), September 1, 1954.

It would be absurd if a committee were required to notify ahead of time a witness who is under fire what the charges are against him.—David Lawrence in *The Salt Lake Tribune*, July 16, 1954.

Our readers are invited to contribute; \$2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS.

Teachers

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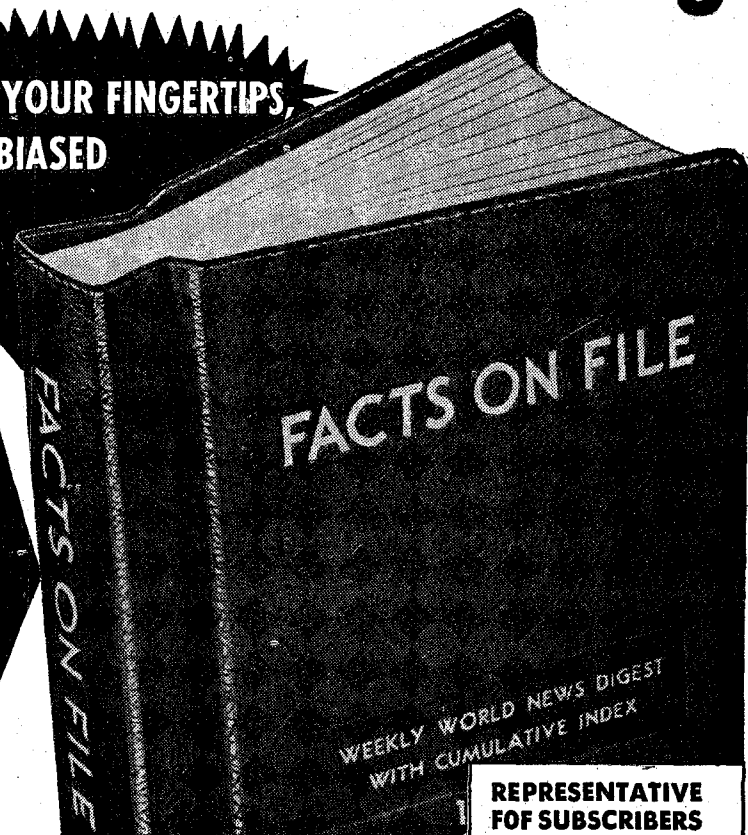
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